1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

end of the weeding period, the first *padi* to be planted is approaching maturity,[1] and about to burst into ear. There now ensues a phase of about a month or more during which the ripening *padi* has to be guarded from marauding animals. For some time previously—during the height of the weeding—the men of each *bilek* family have been preparing for this vital manoeuvre.

126. Most important of all is the construction of a farm hut, or *langkau umai*. Farm huts vary a good deal in style and size, depending on the site of a family's *dampa*. If the farm happens to be within sight of the *dampa*, and near enough to be reached within a few minutes, a family usually satisfies itself with a roughly-built *langkau*, which is used as a watch-house while the padi is ripening, and subsequently as a storage place during the harvest; except during the guarding period however, the family sleeps at, and operates from its *dampa*. On the other hand, if a farm be distant more than about twenty minutes from the *dampa*, it generally happens that the family concerned builds a substantial *langkau umai*, and uses it as a semi-permanent base during most of the agricultural cycle. The building of such a *langkau* cannot—obviously—begin until after the burn. Quite often a beginning is made during the time of dibbling, but the main work is accomplished while the women are engaged in weeding. Poles for the frame-work and *rotan* to lash them together, are fetched from neighbouring jungle; the walls are fashioned from large sheets of bark, and the roof from bark shingles. Most *langkau* consist of a single, small room (about 12 ft. × 12 ft.), opening directly onto a small, open and raised platform (*tanju*) (Plate 14). The building of *langkau* is an exclusively male task. Always a central and elevated site is chosen, overlooking as much as possible of the farm. Once the building is complete, members of the *bilek* family begin spending the night there, and during the

[1] The Iban recognize the following stages in the growth of the *padi* plant:
1). *ngemulu idong* (like the hairs of the nose); e.g. first emergence of the shoot from the ground.
2). *narum* (like needles).
3). *niko pipit* (like the tail of the rice sparrow—Munia sp.).
4). *bayam ribut* (plaything of the winds).
5). *ngelambong batang anak* (above the smaller logs).
6). *basah kain Beketan* (the skirt of a Bukitan woman will become wet when she walks through the *padi*).
7). *basah kain Iban* (the skirt of an Iban woman will become wet when she walks through the *padi*.
(Another name for this stage is *dara biak*—like a girl who has just reached puberty).
8). *dara tuai* (like a girl of say 18-20 years).
9). *betumboh dan* (the growing out of branches).
10). *ngandong laki* (pregnant like a man).
11). *ngandong indu* (pregnant like a woman).
12). *blah buloh* (splitting open like a bamboo shoot); i.e. the emergence of the panicle begins.
13). *ngetup dilah* (like a tongue protruding); i.e. the panicle.
14). *baru bekangau* (newly calling from afar); i.e. the *padi* spirits are thought of as calling to one another in the fields.
15). *baru baka chuit* (newly fully out).
16). *tebai murai* (thickly mature).
17). *brat dan* (heavy branches).
18). *tuai buah* (mature fruits).
19). *mansau mulut* (ripe lips).
20). *betengan tangkai* (half ripe panicles).
21). *rapas tangkai indu* (the panicle of the main plant of each *padi* clump is fully ripe).
22). *nyau ngankong* (hanging down with ripeness); i.e. the height of the harvest.
23). *nyau patah patong* (the panicles are broken at a nodule and hanging down with ripeness).

It will be observed that these terms offer several examples of the manner in which the Iban personify their *padi*.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Part V

IBAN METHODS OF LAND USAGE

Introduction

261. In their natural state the hills of the Baleh region (i.e. up to about 1,000 feet) are covered with tropical, lowland, evergreen rain-forest. It is with this kind of forest that we shall be dealing in discussing land usage, for nowhere in the Baleh did I encounter Iban farming ridges more than 1,000 feet in height, though many farm clearings approached to within one or two hundred feet of this level. Prior to 1880, the forests over almost the entire Baleh basin were primeval.[1] To the Iban virgin jungle is the most highly valued of all resources: by felling it, rights over land are acquired, and, if weather conditions be favourable, virgin land yields crops of exceptional abundance for two years in succession. The "rich, untouched vegetation" of the Baleh was, to the Iban, the most inviting of prizes, and desire to exploit it was the over-ruling incentive of their advance and an important motive in prompting their fierce attacks on alien tribes that stood in the way. Head-hunting and a craving for virgin land went hand in hand. During the past eighty years, hundreds of thousands of acres have been felled and farmed, so that to-day aerial photographs of the Baleh show complex mosaics in which remaining enclaves of virgin forest are surrounded and interspersed with secondary jungle at many different stages of regeneration.

Iban Terminology for the Main Stages of Land Usage

262. Every land usage cycle begins with the felling of an area of primeval forest—the area felled varying from about three to eight acres according to the size of the *bilek* family concerned. For the primeval forest and the various types of secondary growth which result from the cultivation sequences that follow its felling, the Iban have a special set of terms. These terms conveniently summarize the main stages in land usage. Briefly they are as follows:

(*a*) The general term for primeval jungle is *kampong*, but it is commonly qualified—as in the phrases *kampong dalam* (lit. deep jungle), and *kampong amat* (lit. true jungle)—to signify that it has never before been felled.

(*b*) After felling the *kampong* is fired, and when this stage is reached, the farm land is referred to as *tegalan*. *Padi* is dibbled in betwixt and between the charred remains of the fallen trees, carefully tended throughout its growing period, and finally reaped. The stubble that remains when the harvest is over (i.e. in about April) is the *jerami*. Within a few months there is robust regeneration accompanied by coppice growth; in fact, it begins at the end of the weeding (i.e. early in January), so that by August the farm is covered with a dense scrub several feet in height. This scrub—the next important stage to be distinguished—is called *krukoh*; and if it is scrub that has resulted from the felling the year before of

[1] According to Iban informants there were a few limited areas of secondary jungle which had resulted from the activities of the Lugat. The Lugat were a tribe (allied to the Kajang peoples of the upper Rejang) who formerly occupied the Baleh, but were driven out by Iban attacks.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

virgin forest, it is called *krukoh kampong*. It is normal Iban practice to slash this *krukoh kampong*, fire it, and farm the land two years in succession.[1]

(*c*) When *krukoh kampong* land is farmed, the subsequent regeneration is markedly less vigorous, and the plant composition of the resultant scrub is distinctly changed in character. This scrub—the outcome of cultivating land for two years in succession—is called *pangkal*; and if it has originated from *krukoh kampong*, it is called *pangkal kampong*. The farming of *pangkal kampong* occurs in a limited number of cases, but nowhere did I encounter, or hear reports of land being worked for four years in succession.

(*d*) If the *krukoh* scrub that springs up after the felling and firing of *kampong* is not farmed, but allowed to lie fallow for a year, it then becomes *dijap*. Several different kinds of *dijap* are distinguished according to the duration—in years—of the fallow period. For example, *dijap se taun* is *dijap* resulting from one year's fallow; *dijap dua taun* is *dijap* resulting from two years' fallow, and so on. *Dijap* may also result from land being farmed for two years in succession and then being left fallow for one or more years before re-use; in this instance it is known as *dijap krukoh kampong*. Again, *dijap pangkal kampong* is the growth which results when land is cultivated during three successive seasons and then left fallow for one or more years. *Dijap* is frequently felled and farmed—but never for two years running.

(*e*) After about five or six years, *dijap* (or the growth that follows the farming of *dijap*), changes from straggling thicket to well established secondary jungle; and when this stage is reached it is called *damun*. The point at which young secondary growth ceases to be *dijap* and becomes *damun* cannot be fixed with any exactitude. The distinction is an indefinite one, and I have heard growth on the borderline, referred to by both terms. Perhaps the difference is best marked by the practical test that whereas it is customary to clear *dijap* with a heavy bush-knife (*duku*), an axe (*kapak*) is used to fell *damun*. In general, the *damun* stage is reached after about five years, though a good deal depends on the usage to which the land has been submitted prior to its being allowed to lie fallow. Thus, if *kampong* land is felled and farmed only once, and then allowed to lie fallow, there is rapid and healthy regeneration; while in the case of land farmed two or three times in succession, or within a brief span of years, regeneration is retarded and much less vigorous. *Damun* can result from any of the types of usage listed in (*a*)—(*d*) above, that is: from *kampong*, *krukoh kampong*, *pangkal kampong*, *dijap kampong* and *dijap krukoh kampong*; and in each case it is different in character. Furthermore, *damun* is a general term applied to any kind of secondary jungle—from about five to twenty years of age and over; in this sense it is commonly used to describe any land over which customary rights of tenure have been acquired. When *damun* has reached maturity it is then frequently

[1]Cf. Howell and Bailey ("A Sea Dyak Dictionary," 1900, p. 70): "Kakah, s.—last year's stubble farmed this year; v. to farm last year's stubble." (This is the dialectal form of the Second Division).

Note: It should be noted that in this report we are discussing the terms used in the Baleh region. The same terms are employed by other Ulu Ai Iban, but different usages are encountered among the Iban of other parts of Sarawak. For example, Mr. A. R. Snelus noted in 1949 that "the term *damun* . . . . is seldom now heard and has been commonly replaced by the Malay word '*jerami*' amongst the Lemanaks and Layars of the Sarikei district," and further that "the word *temuda* is commonly used in application to *all* stages of secondary growth to connote merely *any* land over which customary rights have been acquired through original felling of the virgin jungle for the purposes of farming *padi*." It is clear that in assessing the analysis presented in this report, due allowance must be made for differences in terminology from district to district and from tribe to tribe.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

referred to as *pengerang*. Once again, no precise definition is possible; *pengerang* has the general meaning of "old secondary jungle", but it is the height and size of the trees and not the length of the fallow period which is the accepted criterion. The time taken for *damun* to reach the required level of maturity varies considerably, for *damun* may result from any one of a number of different land usage sequences, each of which produces a distinctive type of regenerative growth. As far as I was able to determine (i.e. by reckoning, with the aid of informants, the number of farming seasons that had elapsed since an area of secondary jungle was last felled), *damun* reaches the *pengerang* stage after a period of growth ranging from twenty to thirty years. After a lapse of anything from ten to thirty or more years, *damun* land is brought back into use.

(*f*) The scrub that grows up during the three or four months following the taking of a crop from *damun* land is called *krukoh damun*. To slash and burn this *krukoh damun* (i.e. to cultivate secondary jungle for two years in succession) is generally recognized as inexpedient practice by the Iban; weed growth tends to be so vigorous as to outstrip all attempts to cope with it, and subsequent regeneration is so inhibited that the land stands in danger of suffering lasting harm and becoming derelict (*tanah kusi*). Nonetheless, the method is followed to a limited extent.

(*g*) The growth that emerges during the few months immediately succeeding the taking of a crop from *krukoh damun* land is known as *pangkal damun*. *Pangkal damun* is very rarely farmed, but during my two years in the Baleh I did encounter several instances—instances, that is, of secondary jungle (*damun*) being cultivated during three consecutive years.

(*h*) If *damun* be felled and farmed, and then permitted to lie fallow for one, two, three, or four years, the resultant scrub is termed *dijap damun*. The cultivation of *dijap damun* is fairly common.

(*i*) In due course, *dijap damun* (or the re-growth that follows the cultivation of *dijap damun*) reaches a stage of maturity entitling it to the general appellation of *damun*—i.e. well established secondary jungle. Strictly speaking, this kind of re-growth is *damun damun* (secondary jungle resulting from the cultivation of secondary jungle); this however, is a pedantic usage, and although I did hear it used by Iban in the course of a detailed explanation, it is customary to refer to all types of secondary jungle of whatever origin by the general and unqualified term: *damun*.

(*j*) It sometimes happens, because of heavy rain during the months of July, August and September, that the burn is a bad one, and so much so that part of the area which has been felled cannot be cultivated. In this event the land is allowed to revert to scrub for one year; it is then called *budu*. Two main kinds are distinguished: *budu kampong* and *budu damun*. After a year has elapsed the scrub is usually slashed, and a second attempt is made to fire it. This type of usage is only encountered after an exceptionally wet season however, and rarely comprises more than a minor percentage of the total area under cultivation.

263. It will be observed that the system of nomenclature recorded above follows a consistent pattern, but that while some terms (e.g. *kampong*, *krukoh kampong*, *pangkal kampong*) have a quite definite connotation, others (e.g. *dijap*, *damun*) are not rigidly defined and, in actual use, often overlap. This overlap seldom involves a period of more than two or three years however, and it becomes possible therefore to express the main distinctions recognized by the Iban in a simple form of notation. As the datum of this scale we have primeval

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

311 jungle, or *kampong*—which I propose to designate by the letter *K*. Accepting this
192 as a fixed starting-point, the subsequent usage to which any particular piece of *kampong* land is subjected may be denoted by affixing numbers that mark the years when cultivation occurred. For those years during which land lies fallow, no numbers are shown. Thus, *K*.1, records the first felling and firing of virgin jungle, while *K*.1-2, signifies that land (beginning as virgin jungle) has been cultivated for two years in succession, i.e. the farming of *krukoh kampong*. In Table 25, the main types of usage to be found among the Iban are listed. As already remarked, the term *damun* is applied to secondary growth after a fallow period of about five years has elapsed. In the normal course of events, however, the Iban do not bring *damun* back into use until it has reached an age of about twelve to fifteen years; in the examples given in Table 25, I have assumed a fallow period of fifteen years.[1] It will be noted that *damun* can be of several different types, depending on whether it has resulted from *kampong*, *krukoh kampong*, *pangkal kampong*, *dijap kampong*, or *dijap krukoh kampong*. (*Budu kampong*—i.e. jungle felled but not fired because of adverse weather conditions—is given the special notation of *Kb*).

Table 25: System of Notation Showing the Main Modes of Land Usage among the Iban of the Baleh Region

Type of Usage i.e. farming of	*Notation*
kampong	K 1
krukoh kampong	K 1-2
pangkal kampong	K 1-2-3
dijap kampong	K 1-3
	K 1-4
	K 1-5
dijap krukoh kampong ..	K 1-2-4
	K 1-2-5
	K 1-2-6
damun	K 1-16, etc.
	K 1-2-17, etc.
	K 1-2-3-18, etc.
	K 1-3-18, etc.
	K 1-2-4-19, etc.
krukoh damun	K 1-16-17, (and so on)
pangkal damun	K 1-16-17-18, (and so on)
dijap damun	K 1-16-18
	K 1-16-19
	K 1-16-20 (and so on)

Iban Modes of Land Usage in Pioneer Regions

311 264. We are now in a position, equipped with the necessary terms, to discuss the principal modes of land usage to be found among the Iban of the Baleh. As in previous sections of this report we shall be dealing, in the main, with observations made at Rumah Nyala, in the Sungai Sut. Despite the fact that Iban have been living in the valley of the Sut for something like fifty years, virgin jungle (*kampong*) was still being felled at Rumah Nyala in 1949-50, and I was fortunate in being able to witness many different types of land usage. Before beginning our survey there are several preliminary points which should be made. Iban methods

[1] In cases where the usage history of secondary jungle is not known, it may be designated by the letter 'D,' and subsequent usage indicated as for *kampong* (e.g. *krukoh damun* becomes D 1 — 2).

173 If the Dyak account of their migration could be relied upon, it still gives us no help to trace them beyond the island of Borneo. They unanimously affirm that their forefathers removed here (*i. e.* the lower part and mouth of the Batang Lupar) from the very source of the Batang Lupar or main river. Let it be assumed as probable that their migration, which possibly took place about four or five centuries ago, began from the Dutch part of Borneo.

101 The Sea Dyaks consist of several tribes, and which are the following, *viz*:—Batang Rajang, Ulu 197 Ai, Saribas, Sebuyau, Balau, Batang Ai, Undup, Skrang, Lemanak, Kumpang, Engkerbang, Kanowit, Katibas. If these tribes are subdivided again, they will number five times as many. Although they are divided into various tribes, yet they speak only one language, and this is the Malayan language. It is a significant fact that the Malayan language is the mother language of various tribes of people. Each tribe adopts its own idioms and pronunciations, and adds foreign words to its language to enrich it. Anyone who is not thoroughly conversant with the Malay and the Sea Dyak languages would find it difficult to detect their identity. The differences of tones and pronunciation to which each tribe has habituated itself would at first not be noticed by a stranger who would find it impossible to distinguish the language of one tribe from another.

192 The Sea Dyak language is similar to other languages which have grown rich in their vocabularies as

[p. 2]

192 the people have come in contact with foreigners and adopted various words. The Malayan language has adopted many Sanscrit words which were introduced during the Majapait rule. According to the [173] legend, a son of the royal house of Modyopahit founded in the fourteenth century a Hindu dynasty which reckoned thirteen princes down to Pangeran Samatra, the first Islam ruler; the daughter of Pangeran Samatra was married to a Dyak, who became the founder of a new dynasty. It has adopted many Arabic words which date from the Malay conversion to Mahomed's faith. But the adoption of the Sanscrit words into the Malayan is prior to the Arabic. As Sanscrit words are found in the Sea Dyak language it seems almost certain that, once upon a time, the Sea Dyaks inhabited the Malayan peninsula. Since the migration of the Dyaks into this island they have adopted many Kayan words.

[197] The Malays before their conversion to Mahomedanism may be presumed to have had no letters of 212 their own. What they have now are made up out of the Arabic alphabet. To suit the tone of their language the letters are named accordingly. With reference to the Sea Dyaks, since the gospel of Christ has been preached to them, letters of the Roman character are used and pronounced accordingly to suit the tones of their pronunciation.

194 It is difficult to judge between the two languages (Malay and Dyak) as to which is the richer and more expressive. Both languages claim classical forms. When the Malay language is spoken grammatically, it is not only very expressive but exceedingly musical. It is the same with the language of the Sea Dyaks.

173 The Sea Dyaks themselves affirm that they have descended from one family, which they can prove by [153] their genealogy. Some of them are extraordinarily gifted with retentive memories. Although we allow a limited amount of credit to traditions, yet we must admit that there were facts upon which their stories are founded.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
OC6 Iban OC6

tened on the outside, being closed when they are at their farms by the mortar in which their rice is cleaned, and which always stands outside the door in the verandah, or some other heavy piece of wood being merely placed against it. The whole of their buildings, though of so substantial and good appearance, are formed and fastened together without the assistance of nails, their place being supplied by rattans and other cordage.

The language of the sea Dyaks, though altogether different in such parts as having not been adopted from the Malay, is merely a less refined dialect of the language spoken over all Polynesia, and its connexion with that of the other wild tribes, particularly those of Sumatra, is easily to be traced. It is not nearly so melodious in sound, or so copious in its extent, as the Malay, though the Dyaks do not scruple to extend it by adding foreign words whenever they find it necessary, so that a great portion of the words of their vocabulary are from the Malay: the intercourse, which has been generally friendly, between the two nations has also encouraged this adoption of foreign terms. Specimens of their language are given in the work of Captain Keppel, from the vocabularies of Mr. Brooke, and as I can vouch for their correctness, it is not necessary to repeat them here. The different tribes into which the sea division of the Dyaks is again separated have each dialects, which differ in a trifling measure from that generally spoken, but as far as I

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

the skill and patience with which he was accomplishing the task without substantial alteration, and generally without changing the writer's words. The present paper, the first instalment of the whole, shows Mr. Low's skill both as an anthropologist and as a philologist, whose linguistic studies in the Dyak region, which from his official position in Sarawak he knew intimately, add largely to our knowledge of a group of languages as yet but scantily known. Among the topics to which Dr. Tylor wished to call special attention, are the remarks on the relation of dreams to the idea of soul or spirit, a fundamental doctrine of the animistic scheme of religion. No illustration could be stronger than that of the Dyak, who, having dreamt that he fell into the water, attributes this to his shadow-soul having really fallen into the water, and proceeds, by the aid of the spirit-doctor, to recover it, and get it restored to him. In the description of omens, the animistic reason for animals giving intelligence by omens is supplied where it is mentioned that such spirits of birds are considered to be really transmigrated ancestors come to warn the Dyaks of danger. This throws an important light on what we call ill-omened birds and other creatures, who from this point of view are not vexatious, but come as friends to save their friends from harm. It appears that the Dyaks share with the Kafirs of South Africa the delusion that the lengths of shadows vary, portending good or ill. Among other doctrines familiar to students of the lower culture, here well illustrated, may be observed the tabu, here known as mali (given by St. John in the form *pamali*); the totem-animal, whose flesh may not be eaten; the tree-spirit, consenting or objecting to its tree being felled; the accounting for bad weather by the anger of the spirits at marriage-customs having been violated, &c. Care must, however, be taken not to overlook the effects of foreign civilized influence on the ideas of these rude people. The mystic number seven, as in the doctrine of the seven spirits, must be due to Hindu or Moslem influence; as also the worship of the deity called here the Great Spirit, whose name, probably showing in which of these two cultured religions he originated, will, no doubt, be specified in papers to come later on before the Institute.

Dr. CODRINGTON said that very much of what had been read, especially in the first part, corresponded closely with what had been observed in Melanesia. Without referring to general resemblance or identity, three words had struck him as remarkable: 1. *Antu*, no doubt the Polynesian *atua*, a spiritual being or demon; 2. *Manang*, probably the *mana*, by which all magic and doctoring is worked in Melanesia; 3. *Tapu*. (This last, however, was introduced in the paper, not as a native word, but as generally understood.)

Sir HUGH LOW said:—In reference to the points in this paper in which Dr. Codrington has remarked similarity to the customs of the natives of the Islands of Polynesia, I should like to mention that, although it is now more than forty years since I had the opportunity

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

to the eyes from dust and glare. But my remarks have made little impression on them. Among the Dyaks, as elsewhere, fashions die hard.

The Sea Dyak language is practically a dialect of Malay which is spoken more or less over all Polynesia. It is not nearly so copious as other Malayan languages, but the Dyaks do not scruple to use Malay words in their conversation when necessary. The Dyak language is particularly weak in expressing abstract ideas. What the mind cannot grasp the tongue is not likely to express. I believe there is only one word—*rindu*—to express all the different varieties of love. On the other hand, the language is rich in words expressing the common actions of daily life. There are many words to express the different ways of carrying anything; one word for carrying in the hand, another for carrying on the back, and another for carrying on the shoulder.

There are several words in Dyak which resemble Malay words of the same meaning, the difference being that the Malay suffix *an* is changed into *ai*. Thus, the Malay word *makan* (to eat) becomes *makai* in Dyak, and *jalan* (to walk) becomes *jalai*. There are some words exactly the same in both languages, and these are for the most part simple substantives, such as *rumah* (house), *laki* (husband), *bini* (wife). Verbs, however, commonly differ, though expressing simple necessary actions. Thus, the Malay word for "to drink" is *minum*, the Dyak word is *ngirup*; the Malay for "to eat" is *makan*, and the Dyak *empa* as well as *makai*.

It is not surprising that there should be many words in Dyak not known to the Malays. Though derived from the same parent tongue, the Dyak language has developed independently by contact with other races.

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

PREFACE.

197 THE language of the so-called Sea Dyaks of Sarawak is a dialect of the wide spreading Malay language intermixed with words borrowed from Kayan and, it is surmised, other primitive Bornean races with whom the Dyaks have come in contact.

197 619 It cannot yet be said that the language is that of a Nation. It is the language of a number of tribes who may be conveniently grouped as follows :—

1 { Balau. Undup.	2 { Saribas. Skarang.	3 { Batang Ai. Lemanak.
4 { Sabuyau Bugau.	5 { Ulu Ai. Engkair.	[see *Daya*].

These different tribes are, with the exception of the Saribas and Bugau, inhabitants of the Batang Lupar River and its tributaries, and from these tributaries they mostly derive their tribal names such as Sabuyau, Lemanak, Skarang, Undup. It is however necessary to state that in recent years some of these tribes have so increased and spread beyond their ancient limits that there are now said to be as many, if not more, Dyaks living in the Rejang river than in the whole Second Division (a tract of land which with the Batang Lupar includes the Saribas and Kalaka rivers and the area drained by these three rivers).

Each of these tribes has some peculiarities of dialect, and some make use of words quite unknown to other tribes, but we doubt if these peculiarities are as striking as the difference between the speech of a man from Yorkshire and one from Sussex.

192 177 619 The Balau Dyaks, who derive their tribal name from a ridge of low hills about twenty-five miles up the Batang Lupar river, have adopted many words in common use by the Malays and this is not to be wondered at when we call to mind that about half a century ago large numbers of this tribe were gathered together and lived with many Malays upon Banting Hill for the sake of mutual protection against a common foe (Saribas and Skarang Dyaks), and that they have always lived in close proximity to Malays, and further that a large portion of the regular force (the Sarawak Rangers) has been and is still recruited from them. This fact has also no doubt, in some measure, given an additional impulse to their "knowledge" of Malay. The Undup Dyaks, who have always been allied with the Balau tribe in their tribal wars, and who have frequently intermarried with them, certainly possess less knowledge

192 177 619 of Malay and use fewer Malay words, but there is an increasing tendency with them to pick up any Malay words they happen to hear used, when in the Rangers or in the courts, and adopt them.

The Saribas and Skarang Dyaks, the keenest hunters after jungle produce (gutta, rotan, etc.) are better off than any other Dyaks and travel long distances, even to the Celebes, in quest of old jars, yet, in spite of their strong trading instincts and their smartness they do not make use of Malay words, when speaking their own tongue, to so great an extent as the two previously mentioned tribes, the reason being perchance, that they, or at all events the Saribas, have always been the dominant race in their river and as such have learnt to look down somewhat upon the Malays.

191 619 177 The Sabuyau and Bugau Dyaks can mostly speak Malay; the latter who inhabit the country beyond the Kalingkang range in Netherlands India territory are said to speak it fluently, the reason probably being that they are frequently visited by Kapuas Malay peddlers. The Sabuyau are a dwindling race. Scarcely a dozen families remain in their old home in the Sabuyau river, at the mouth of the Batang Lupar, but the majority live at Lundu where doubtless the purity of their language has suffered much through their close intimacy with their Malay neighbours.

619 197 177 The Ulu Batang Ai or Ulu Ai Dyaks, who live further up the Batang Lupar river than any other people, probably speak the purest dialect of the Sea Dyak language, but their accent is harsh and their speech rough sounding and unpleasant compared with that of those who live nearer the sea. From their position they have naturally had little intercourse with Malays until more recent years, and their knowledge of Malay is practically *nil*.

197 The importance of the Sea Dyak language in Sarawak cannot be over-estimated.

It is the language of one of the most numerous races in the country—a race which is increasing and spreading further and further year by year. It is the language of the most energetic and go-ahead of all the native races in the Island of Borneo, and it is a living and growing language.

Throughout the Batang Lupar, Saribas, Kalaka, and Rejang rivers and their tributaries it is par excellence the *trade* language. Nearly all Chinese living in these rivers speak or understand it; indeed if they understand a little Malay, they usually prefer to talk Dyak, for it comes easier and more natural to them to do so, as many are married to Dyak women. The language is familiar to all Malays who live in or near Dyak countries or who *go inland* (*mudik ka Daya*), and even if they are strangers they find they can rapidly acquire a knowledge of this language which is in so many respects similar to their own. Wherever there is a government station of any importance it is garrisoned usually by Rangers and this language there is in daily use.

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It is tabooed to dye anything black lest the child be black. As for the woman (if she goes anywhere) she must return by the same way she went out lest the child be wrongly delivered. It is forbidden to eat anything within the mosquito curtains lest the mother die before the child is born, it is forbidden to carry stones lest the child be paralysed.

XIV. Senyata tuboh mensia.—The Human Form and parts thereof.

192 [*Pala enggau rekong.* Head and neck].

Pala, the head. *Pulas uchong*, crown of the head.

Bok, hair of the head.

Kulit, skin.

Kruntok, skull.

Uban (or *ubun*) *aji*, opening in the head of a newly-born infant.

Untak, brain.

Dai, or *kening*, forehead.

Kelampisan, or *plipisan*, temples.

Moa, face.

Paras moa, the features.

Bulu kening or *balu bansu*, eyebrow.

Mata, eye. *Kulit mata*, eyelid.

Bulu mata, *bulu kijap* or *bulu kesap*, eyelash.

Leka or (*igi*) *mata*, eyeball.

Idong, nose. *Lubang idong*, nostril.

Pending, ear. *Lubang pending*, orifice of the ear.

Pipi or *kuyu*, the cheek.

Mulut, lip.

Nyawa, mouth.

Seput, breath.

Gumis or *suyam*, moustache.

Ngeli, tooth, *Gam*, molar tooth.

Gusi, the gums.

Rang, the jaw. *Tulang rang*. Jaw-bone.

Dilah, tongue. *Butoh dilah*, Uvula.

Klakanit, roof of the mouth.

Dagu, chin.

Janggut or *Jagut*, beard.

Rekong, neck, throat (outside). *Lubang rekong*, throat (inside).

Pegu, back (or nape) of neck.

Darah, blood.

[*Tuboh enggau kaki.* The body and legs].

Tuboh, body.

Bulu, hair of body.

Isi, flesh.

Tulang, bone.

Urat, sinew.

Penyuan, an artery.

Bau, or *Tandan bau*, shoulder.

Kachiak, arm-pit.

Selangka, collar-bone.

Selangka-dada, breast-bone.

Dada, chest. *Tusu*, the breasts. *Mulut tusu*, the nipple.

Luak, the cavity in the chest.

Buku, joint.

Brang, arm. *Pun brang*, the shoulder. *Buah brang*, biceps.

Siku, elbow.

Lengan, forearm. *Buah lengan*, muscle below the elbow.

Kuan, *dekuan*, *buku kuan* or *prumpong*, the wrist.

Kedap, the pulse.

Jari, hand. *Tapa*, or *tapa jari*, the palm of the hand.

Blakang jari, back of the hand.

Tunjok, a finger. *T. indu*, the thumb. *T. butang*, or *T. antu*, the forefinger. *T. tengah*, the middle finger. *T. apit*, or *T. manis*, the fourth finger. *T. anak*, the little finger.

Kukut, nail.

Pala banta, just above the nail.

Blakang, the back. *Tulang blakang*, back bone.

Tulang hetapi, shoulder blade.

Rusok, the side.

Tulang herigai, the ribs.

Atau or *ati*, the liver.

Tungkul atau or *Tungkul ati*, the heart.

Kura, the spleen. *Lempuang*, the lungs.

Kesing, kidney. *Empedu*, or *lempedu*, the gall.

Prut, stomach. *P. rala*, the principal intestines.

P. anak, the smaller intestines.

Punggong, the waist.

Kanda, the abdomen.

Pusat, the navel.

Plebuyan, below the navel.

Keting or *puki*, the vulva.

Butoh, the penis. *Igi peler*. Testicles.

Burit, the backside. *Jumbal burit*, the extremity of the posterior. *Tumbong*, the anus.

Penyurong pa, hip bone.

Kaki, the leg (the whole of it).

Pa, the thigh.

Patong, the knee. *Pala patong*, knee-cap.

Jengklan, just below the knee.

Plepetan, just below the *jengklan*.

Betis, the leg below the knee. *Buah betis*, the calf.

Tulang betis, the shin.

Buku ali, the ankle.

Rakat, the tendon Achilles.

Tumbit, the heel.

Tunjok kaki, the toe. *Kukut kaki*, toe nail.

Tapa kaki, sole of the foot.

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XV. Ngepan Bujang Nganta—Costume of a Dyak Dandy.

Labong. The headkerchief. *L. buntas.* The black headkerchief embroidered with gold thread. *L. genaling*, the red and yellow headkerchief.

Lelanjang or *lelaga.* Hornbill or other feathers stuck in the *labong.*

Grunjong. Earrings.

Lilap. Pieces of thin diamond-shaped brass attached to the *grunjong.*

Tingga. Ear pendants.

Tangkong tenyalang. The horn of the Hornbill suspended from the ear.

Tenggak or *marik.* Bead necklace.

Buah tili. A knob of embossed metal attached to the necklace.

Tengkelai. Shell armlet worn round the biceps.

Sempai. Armlet above the biceps made of plaited fern (*resam*), fibre (*aping* or *ijok*), or rotan.

Unus lengan. Bracelets from the wrist up the forearm made of plaited fibre (*ijok*).

Tumpo. Brass bracelet. *T. gading.* Ivory bracelet.

Tinchin tunjok. Ring.

Sapai. A square red or yellow piece of cloth with a hole in the centre through which the head is put and the cloth (often with serrated edges) then hangs over the shoulders and chest.

Tajong or *dandong.* A *sarong* hung over the shoulder.

Kain belantan. A gold-embroidered cloth hung over the shoulder.

Sirat. Waist or breech-cloth. *S. tating.* Breech-cloth with small brass bells at the ends hanging in front and behind. *S. paya.* Breech-cloth with embroidered figures.

Kabu. Fringe to the breech-cloth.

Samenting ringgit. Belt made out of dollar coins.

Tikai burit. Stern mat of rotan.

Unus. Rings of *ijok* fibre round the calf of the leg below the knee.

Engkrimok. Brass rings round the calf.

Tanghin. Sword.

Engkerurai. Native bag-pipe.

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XVI. Ngepan Dara Nganta—Gala costume of a Dyak Lady.

Sugu pirak. Silver-mounted comb.

Ensuga tisir. Upper part of the comb.

Lilap. Diamond-shaped ornament on the comb.

Tusak pending, engkrabu, tensang pending, or *sumpin.* Earring.

Tenggok. Necklace of beads, silver-coins, etc.

Marik. Beads. *M. ampan.* Beads threaded and worn in rows down to the breasts.

Tumpa. Bracelet or rings of brass on the wrists. *T. rangki.* Armlet made of a sea shell (*rangki*).

Tinchin tunjok. Finger ring.

Rawai. Brass rings threaded upon rotan and worn like a corset round the body from armpit to midway between the waist and the fork.

Kenyawir. A diamond-shaped metal ornament tied on the *rawai.*

Ringgit. Dollar coins worn round the waist above the *rawai.*

Segai. A silver, or a silver-coin belt.

Kain. Petticoat. *K. tating.* Petticoat with small brass bells (*grunong*) hung on to its lower border. *K. sungkit.* An embroidered petticoat.

Tisi kain. Edging of the petticoat worked with gold thread.

Sabit. Finely wrought brass chains worn from the waist to the border of the *kain.* *S. pirak.* Similar chains but of silver.

Selampai or *Kain besai.* A cloth worn round the throat with the ends hanging down the back.

Kalambi. A jacket.

Baju sungkit. A jacket with a square embroidered on the back. *B. tabor* or *B. ara.* A jacket embroidered with gold at back and down part of the front.

Slong. Brass rings worn on the legs.

XVII. Kayu—A Tree.

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Urat, the root.
Geta, gutta.
Ai (*kayu*), the sap.
Kulit, the bark.
Kulit manis, the soft part of the wood next to the bark.
Bandir, a buttress.
Pun, the stem.
Batang, the trunk.
Kayu, the wood.
Bungkong, a knot in the wood.
Pisak, pith of soft wood.
Tras or *kah*, the heart of hard wood.
Dan, branch.

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192 *Puting* or *tahang*, a twig.
Tangkai, a stalk, pedicle.
Tampok, calyx.
Kantok, a young leaf.
Lungkum, a bud.
Sulit, *telesak*, or *selinggir*, a shoot, a sucker. [Of palms, e. g., a sago sucker, *anak sulang*].

Daun, leaf.
Bunga or *bunga*, flower.
Buah, fruit.
Kulit buah, fruit skin or rind.
Leba or *iga*, seed.

XVIII. Rumah Panjai—A Dyak House (lit. a long House).

192 342 *Taba*, the site.
Langkar, measurement of the site.
Tenung ai, the divination to test the healthiness of the spot.
Tiang, a post. *N'gentak* (*entak*) to set up a post.
Tungkat, a prop.
Sukong, a strut.
Pengerat or *siri*, a tie beam.
Pemujur or *sanding*, a joint.
Kalang, a joint (above the *pemujur*).
Gegar or *gelegar*, the flooring composed of small sticks, bamboos, or split *pinang*, laid side by side.
Pemetong, wood to finish off the ends of the *gelegar* (placed at right angles to them).
Dinding, the wall. *Tiang dinding*, wall posts.
Ibal, beams to which the walls are tied or nailed.
Ruai, the covered verandah, or public hall of the house.
Bedilang, the warning place in the *ruai*.
Penyurai or *pantar*, that part of the verandah immediately below the eaves.
Padang, a bedstead.
Tanju, the outside platform or open verandah of the house.
Tempuan, the passage used as a public thoroughfare and also as the place where the paddy is pounded [it lies just outside the doors of the rooms (*bilik*)].
Lubang penutok, an opening (above the *tempuan*) to admit the pestles being raised when pounding the paddy in the mortar (*tesung*) upon the *tempuan*.
Pudong Bugan or *P. gantong*, the upper or fenced part of the *lubang penutok*.
Bilik, the room. *Pintu*, the door.
Tempuan bilik, the passage in the room.
Lubang prisa, a window.
Lubang penyurok, a spy-hole or small door of communication between two rooms.
Tuhang (or *penukang*) *atap*, the window in the roof (made by raising up a portion of the *bilik* roof.
Sadau, the garret (above the *bilik*).
Pemanggai or *P. sanggang*, a shelf for mats, etc., below the *sadau* and above the *ruai*.
Dapur, the cooking place in the *bilik*.
Para, a shelf above the cooking place upon which the firewood is placed.
Pengait gunok (or *labu*), hooks upon which the water gourds are hung in the *Tempuan bilik*.
Penyambut sadau, tie beam.
Pepan ara, joint above the *penyambut sadau*.
Sangkar menawa, tie beam above the *pepan ara*.
Gelegar (or *gegar*) *sadau*, the flooring of the *sadau*.
Sekang rumah, tie beam above the flooring of the *gegar sadau*.
Jempayan or *jempayan*, tie beams at back and front of the house.
Pietar or *jempayan chit*, tie beams that support the rafters.
Kasau, the rafters.
Tiang prabong, the King-post.
Plebingan, small tie beam at right angles with the King-post reaching from *kasau* to *kasau*.
Prabong, the ridge of the roof (inside the roof).
Langkai, *pretar* or *pietar*, the laths supporting the roof covering.
Atap kayu or *atap papan*, the roof shingles.
Atap daun, leaf-roof covering. *Kaki atap*, the eaves.
Tungkup (or *tutup*) *prabong*, the ridge of the roof (outside).
Pewambai, an ensign (denoting a ceremonial feast) hoisted on the *Tungkup prabong*.
Sabor ai, the wall at the back of the house.
Panggong or *luan*, the end of the room where the jars are stored.
Tebelayak, the walls at the back of a long house.
Penyambung or *penyambai*, the ends or both ends of a Dyak house.
Tangga, the stair-case or ladder of a long house.
Anak (or *giri*) *tangga*, the steps or notches in the log which serves as the stair case.
Pala tangga, the head of the stairs at either end of the long house.
Kaki tangga, the foot of the staircase.
Penyuang, posts on either side of the staircase to support the railings.
Alau-alau, the railings of the stair-case.

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XIX. Bong*—A Dyak Boat.

Pengala or *penyengala*, the keel.
Ujong pengala or *pala pemangkit*, the end of the keel.
Penyambang, a piece of wood joined on to the above forming as it were bow or stern post.
Enturan, the lines on the keel upon which the planks forming the sides are laid.
Tangkir or *papan indu*, the lowest plank (resting upon the *enturan*).
Gandong (or *papan*) *pemangka*, the bulwark.
† *Jernpek*, a temporary extra-high bulwark of leaf used when going out to sea.
Rakng, the fitting of the planks.
Temuku, the boss of wood on the side planks which supports the *sengkar*.
Sengkar, a beam crossing the boat from side to side.
Gagang, pieces of wood laid lengthwise on the *sengkar*.
Asai, wood laid across the *sengkar* to support the deck.
Lantai, the flooring (or deck) made of split bamboo, *nibong*, etc.
Bang, pieces of wood running across from bulwark to bulwark.
Ruang, the inside of the boat.
Timba, the middle or well of the boat.
Chapin or *tutup luan*, a plank forming the square bows or stern.
Luan, the bow.
Kamudi, stern.
Tanju luan or *T. kamudi*, see *dandan*.
Dandan, platform at the stern or bow of a war boat.
Dinding-kari or *dinding-kari kamudi*, a carved and painted board at the stern.
Pumpang, the rudder.
Ajar-ajar, upper part of the rudder.
Tejampang, the rudder support.
Tiang tajok, the awning posts.
Entapan, cross pieces on the top of the *tiang tajok*.
Lembaian, wood laid lengthwise on which rest the awnings.
Urat, the rotan fastenings of the boat.
Kajang, awning (of leaf).
Tiang, mast.
Layar, a sail.
Pakal or *glam*, bark of wood used to caulk the seams.
Tali, rope.
Tali prauh, a boat's painter.
Saoh, anchor.
Kukut saoh, an anchor fluke.
Dayong, oar.
Sengayoh, paddle.
Daun sengayoh, the blade of a paddle.
Dendan sengayoh, the top part of a paddle handle.
Batang sengayoh, the shaft of a paddle.
Suar, a punting pole (used in going up-river over shallow gravel beds).
Turus or *taman*, a pole to which a boat is tied up.

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XX. Sukat—Dyak measurements of length.

Sa jari singit. A finger's breadth sideways.
Sa tunjok. The breadth of a finger placed flat down.
Dua tunjok. The breadth of two fingers placed flat down.
Tiga tunjok. The breadth of three fingers placed flat down.
Ampat tunjok. The breadth of four fingers placed flat down.
Sa tempah. The palm of the hand placed flat down.
Tinchin or *sa pengaul pun.* From the thumb to the last joint of the middle finger outstretched.
Sa pennku or *sa pengaul tengah.* From the thumb to the middle joint of the middle finger outstretched.
Sa pengaul or *sa pengaul jari ujong.* From the thumb to the top joint of the middle finger outstretched.
Sa jenghal bakit or *tupai.* A span, from the thumb to the tip of the forefinger outstretched.
Sa jenghal amai. A real span.
Sa rnas tulang. From the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.
Manjai lengan or *tuntun rusa.* An arm's length, i.e. from the top of the shoulder to the tip of the middle finger.
Titik kuak. From the centre of the chest to the tip of the middle finger.
Penigong antu. From the end of the shoulder across the chest to the tip of the middle finger.
Engkabai. From just above the end of the shoulder across the chest to the tip of the middle finger.
Laboh langgu. From just above where the *engkabai* commences across the chest to the tip of the middle finger.
Engklai unus. From just above the biceps across the chest to the tip of the middle finger.

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* NOTE.—A *bong* is a boat with square shaped bows and stern, and no keel, it has the planks, which form its sides, tied together with rotan. It is seldom taken out to sea being primarily an up-river boat.
† Only used when going out to sea.

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DYAK NAME.	MEANING.
681 *4. *Sa uta, skalika delapan singkap mangkok, skalika dua singkap pinggai.*	One *uta* or eight cups, or two plates.
*5. *Dua uta, skalika anamblas singkap mangkok, skalika ampat singkap pinggai.*	Two *uta* or eight cups, or two plates.
*6. *Tiga uta, skalika anam singkap pinggai, skalika sigi irun.*	Three *uta* or six plates, or one *irun* jar.
*7. *Ampat uta, skalika delapan singkap pinggai, skalika sigi menukol.*	Four *uta* or eight plates or one *menukol*.
*8. *Lima uta, skalika sapuloh singkap pinggai, skalika sigi jabir.*	Five *uta* or ten plates or one *jabir*.
9. *Dua igi jabir, skalika sigi panding* ...	Two *jabir* jars or one *panding*.
10. *Dua igi panding, skalika sigi alas* ..	Two *panding* or one *alas*.
11. *Dua igi alas, skalika sigi rusa* ...	Two *alas* jars or one *rusa*.
12. *Dua igi rusa, skalika sigi menaga* ...	Two *rusa* jars or one *menaga*.
13. *Dua igi menaga, skalika sigi ningka.*	Two *menaga* jars or one *ningka*.
*NOTE—*Tiga singkap pinggai sigi uta, enti utang darah.*	Three plates are equal to an *uta*, if the offence be bloodshed.

XXVII. Pemaioh pemedis Mensia—Various Human Ailments.

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[NOTE.—The Dyaks name the various complaints of the human body in the most vague and careless manner. The symptom of a disease is often given as the name of the complaint; and when two diseases have more or less similar symptoms it is found that there is only one name for them both (e.g., Dysentery and Piles are both called *bira ka darah*).

Even the *Manang*, who profess to cure diseases, very frequently diagnose a case as *pansa utai* (passed by something) meaning that the patient has been affected by some evil spirit that has gone by.

From the above it can be easily understood that there is great difficulty in giving the proper medical terms for Dyak diseases.

We are indebted to A. J. G. Barker, Esq., Principal Medical Officer of Sarawak, for some useful hints and information in preparing this list for publication].

Abi, a wound.

Agu, dumb, idiotic, used of a 'natural.'

Alar (the Malay *alar-alar*), the condition of inflammation of a lymphatic duct in the leg or thigh, or both, running up to the groin and causing enlargement of one or more of the glands there. It is one of the manifestations of Filariasis (a disease due to a nematode worm called Filaria Bancrofti the embryos of which are found in large numbers in the blood). Frequent attacks of this may eventually result in Elephantinsis.

Angat, hot, feverish symptoms.

Bajong, rheumatic pains, paralysis.

Bakal, a wound.

Bara, an abscess, tumour.

Batok, a cough. *Batok mutah ka dara*, consumption or phthisis (literally, cough and vomitting blood). *Batok rangkai*, a cough, whooping cough, (literally, dry cough).

Bebali, blood poisoning, bone disease.

Bebirin, see *tabin bebirin*.

Beging, bingking, or *ribut kaban*, boils attacking the head only.

Benak, colic.

Bengal or *benggal*, deaf.

Bengeh, asthma.

Bengkak, a swelling, tumour. *Bengkak ngeli*, a gumboil.

Benta, general weakness, sometimes Amenorrhoea.

Bentan, a swelling of the stomach (probably dropsy in some form), pain.

Berngoh or *berngus*, mumps.

Besut, blind.

Betangkal, to have patches on the skin or *kurap*, see *tangkal lusong*.

Betu, a burn, scald.

Bingking see *beging*.

Bingung, giddy.

Bira ka darah, dysentery, piles.

Bisu, dumb.

Blang, the mottling of the hands or feet due to loss of pigment in the skin (*leucoderma*). This is usually seen on the palms and soles.

Bubok, an itching or sores on the head caused by some insects.

Bungu (or *bungai*) *kayu*, small-pox.

Burut, orchitis.

Buta, blind.

Butir, a wart.

Chelap, cold. *Sakit chelap*, a chill.

Chirit, diarrhoea.

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Demam, ague.
Dilah rusa, see *alah*.
Dugal, distension of the gall bladder (due to gall stones).
Enda datai kain, amenorrhœa.
Enda datai kamah, amenorrhœa.
Engkechong, an ulcer.
Gegar, to shiver, shake, have ague-fever.
Gegutak, see *gutak*.
Gemala or *gemalus*, a syphilitic throat (usually fatal).
Gentong or *gentong prut*, a swelling of the stomach.
Gila, mad. *Gila babi*, epilepsy.
Gumut, measles.
Gutlak, palsy.
Idap, sore eyes; a relapse.
Igu bawai, enlarged glands in the groin, bubo.
Ihil, a wart.
Juran, choleraic diarrhœa.
Jelupang, dropsy.
Juaran, see *juran*.
Jukat, delirious.
Juling, a squint.
Kudai, a form of leprosy.
Kait, maimed, lame.
Kapak, an ulcer.
Kayap, shingles.
Ketal, a bad form of *kurap*, (which see).
Kelebuan, miscarriage.
Kemih ka darah, bloody urine.
Kenyiran or *kenyenyiran*, inflammation of the breasts (*Mastitis*).
Kepi, slightly lame.
Kudong, as *sakit kudong*, leprosy.
Kurap, scorbutic humour, a tetter, ringworm, skin disease.
Kurap (or *krak*) *dulang*, or *panan*, whitish spots on the skin caused by leprous or scrofulous distempers.
Kurap badak, dhobi itch.
Kuris, the itch.
Lambor, a form of fever. *Lambor api*, a severe form of fever, high fever when the skin is hot and dry, commonly known as "the hot stage" of ague. *Lambor upa*, the reverse of *L. api*, "the cold stage" of ague.
Lan, leprosy.
Laso, pain in the wrist.
Lengat, dysenteric diarrhœa when the motions contain blood and pus in addition to fœcal matter.
Lengit, see *lengat*.
Lukus, see *betu*.
Lundong, an intestinal worm.
Lusong, skin disease (see *kurap*).
Mara, a disease, a boil.
Melabat, a swelling or spots on the skin the effects of a blow or poisonous bite.
Melumpat, skin disease (probably from blood poisoning?).
Membal, see *glumut*.
Menchol, or *mensul*, a swelling.
Menyala, itching caused by ant bites, etc.
Merjan, prickly heat.
Mulan, to menstruate.
Mutah ka darah, to vomit blood.
Ngebal, constipation.
Ngura, ague.
Nyang, an eruptive disease.
Nyerebika, a carbuncle.
Panan, see *kurap* (or *krak*) *dulang*.
Pulong, the swelling that developes into an ulcer.
Purong, leprosy.
Putak tulang, a simple fracture.
Pantok ular, snake bite.
Pedis, ill, painful.
Pedis atan, pain in the (region of the) heart.
Pedis prumpong tulang, rheumatism.
Pedis mata, opthalmia, or inflammation of the eyes.
Pedis kemih, gonorrhœa, or suffering from gravel.
Pedis prut, stomach-ache.
Pedis prut belcka, cholera.
Pedis prut ngulu, see *bejuak*.
Pedis puinggong, lumbago, sciatica.
Pedis rekong, stiff neck, sore throat.
Pedis rusok, pain in the side.
Pelangan, a species of framboesia (see *pui*).
Pemedis, pain; disease, ailment, soreness.
Penabin, sickness (usually feverish).
Penat, weakness and a general feeling of being tired or of malaise, numb, void of the sense of feeling.
Pengkelan, choked.
Penyakit, sickness, disease.
Perba, as *tabin perba*, ague.
Pilai, paralysis, paralyzed.
Pisa, a boil. *Pisa bruang*, a carbuncle. *Pisa padi*, a very small boil.
Prepeh, a pain, ache.
Put, or *pui umai* (Malay *Igiu*). *Frambœsia* or *Yaws*. The Dyaks speak of four different kinds of Yaws, viz. *Pui api*, *P. asi*, *P. malau*, *P. tekuyong*.
Punti, poisoned.
Puru, see *bunça kayu*.
Rabus, thrush.
Redak tulang, a compound fracture.
Rekah, cracks on the soles of the feet or palms of the hands.
Renibuyan batu, pain in the abdomen from which women sometimes suffer after childbirth.
Renga, cold in the head.
Ribut kaban, see *beging*.
Ridap, large boils on the head.
Riman, internal cancer.
Rumbak, ulcers from blood poisoning.
Rura, intestinal worm.
Sakit, ill, painful.
Sakit indu, gonorrhœa in the female.
Sakit lelaki; gonorrhœa in the male.
Samak, leprosy (saribas).
Sedekan, choked.
Sedu, hiccough.
Sekut dalam, a difficulty in breathing.
Senampun, a whitlow, a poisoned wound.
Sengkubol or *prut besengkubal*, stomach ache.

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14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

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Setong, a disease that attacks the nose and eats it away.

Singkong, a crooked arm.

Siong, ganglion.

Tabin, or *tabin beburin*, ill (generally feverish).

Tai lalat, a freckle or small mole.

Tampek buah, chicken-pox.

Tangkal lutong or *betangkal*, patches of skin disease.

Tara, prolapse of the womb.

Teberurut, see *kelebuan*.

Tebu, a kind of sore occurring on the soles of the feet and palms of the hands.

Teganggam, lock-jaw, a stiffening of the limbs, clenching of the fists.

Tekok, goitre or Derbyshire neck.

Telih, or *telis*, a wound.

Tepelut kundong, piles.

Tepesalah, sprained.

Tidau, inflammation of the throat.

Tingang, lame.

Trong-ptan a stye on the eye-lid.

Tungkut, paralyzed.

Utan, night-blindness or *Nyetalopia*.

Ungar, see *unggar*.

Ungga, see *gerba*.

Untut, elephantiasis.

18:Sutlive , E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

processing and manufacture from Indonesia.

4. Rice

Rice is the basic food among the Ibans and other peoples of Sarawak, and, as will be discussed later, much ritual and religious belief is associated with every aspect of rice cultivation. From the inaugaration of the annual activities with augury and ceremonial claiming of the fields to be farmed, until the concluding crooning to the rice-spirit as the grain is stored away, the acquisition of rice is an all-embracing way of life among the Ibans, touching on every aspect of their lives. To eat(makai) means, in Iban, to eat rice. And no matter how filling and varied other foods are, an Iban has not eaten until he has partaken of rice.[39]

According to the 1960 census (Jones 1960: 260-1), 46 per cent of the total Sarawak population depended either entirely or primarily on rice cultivation for their living. As indicated in Table 7 on the following page, Ibans account for almost two-thirds of all rice farmers. And of the total economically active Iban population, almost 89 per cent are engaged entirely or primarily in rice cultivation.

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[39] After eating a large dinner- but no rice - with our family, some Iban visitors left and went to the pasar to eat. When we accidentally encountered them at their second meal, we apologized for their going away hungary. "Oh no, they politely replied, your food was very good, but we hadn't eaten (rice) yet."